

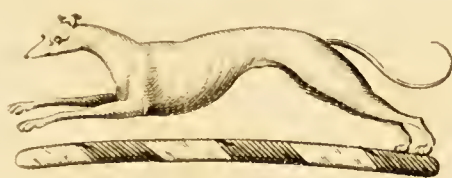


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A
LETTER

To the Right Honourable

George Grenville, Esq;

[Price One Shilling.]

LETTER

RPJCB

A
LETTER

To the Right Honourable

George Grenville, Esq;

Ec. Ec. Ec.

Upon the CONDUCT of the

LATE Opposition.



L O N D O N :

Printed for W. NICOLL, in *St. Paul's*
Church-Yard. 1764.

LETTER

To the Hon. the Secretary of the Navy

George G. Davis, Esq.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,



Very respectfully,

George G. Davis

RPJCB



A
LETTER,
Etc.

S I R,

YOUR Opening of the State of the Nation, towards the Close of the last Session, displayed a Knowledge, accurate and extensive, of the Subject which you treated, in the Opinion of every Man who heard you. The Enemies of your Power, by rendering reluctant Justice to your Abilities, have given a singular Proof of the Force of Truth, constantly

stantly refused to the ablest of your Predecessors by the Opposers of their Days.

The Effects of this Persuasion have spread wide, and appear in all who are not too strongly prepossessed with other Passions, which warp even the upright Mind to the Interests of Ambition, Want, or Resentment. Nor is the Power of Conviction totally lost even upon these; and while it operates more sensibly upon others, Despondency of Success damps the Ardour of a Pursuit, which the Hope of Succeeding inspired.

You have explained our Condition to us; and if there was a Man before unconvinced, that the late glorious and successful War would have been fatal in its further Progress, you have convinced him of his Error; and the most enthusiastic Worshipers of that great Minister, who inspired and directed our military Operations, do not wish his Return into Power,
for

for a further Display of his Abilities in conquering.

Incomparable as these are in that Scene, they might fail him and us in another claiming equal Talents ; but as widely different as Expence and Frugality, Debts and Savings, the Sword that makes the Wound and the Salve that heals it, War and Peace. The Genius, the Temper, and Disposition of Mind, which are best adapted to the Direction of these Contraries, and the Arts by which they should be directed, are equally contrariant ; too opposite to exist in the same Man : while the Knowledge earned by Experience in one of these Situations, becomes an useless Acquisition in the other.

Quickness of Perception, Capacity of Thought, Precision of Judgment, and Elevation of Sentiment, are the Gifts of Nature, which, with little Experience, have in a few Instances produced Prodigies in the Field ; and, in our great War-Minister,

have produced a Prodigy in the Cabinet : But, necessary as these Qualities are in your Station, they never can do alone, and unassisted by long and diligent Service; a heaven-born Financer never dropt from the Sky compleatly fitted for Business: He must deal in Details, to be Master of that Whole, which results from them. The Business of every Office is his, and composes but one Part of his Studies: He must know the State of those Things from which Revenue arises, of Produce, Manufacture, and Commerce, throughout the wide Extent of home and foreign Markets, in the various Vicissitudes of each; for on these that great System of Taxation depends, under which Nations flourish or are undone.

Of these our late Minister confesses himself ignorant; nor would he in any one Instance, during his sole Direction of other Affairs, interfere in these. He left that Province entire to the noble Person who presided at the Board of Treasury; and
were

were he to return into Power, that high Office, incomparably the most important in times of Peace, must be entrusted in other Hands. What those might be, and for whom that Trust was designed in the last Autumn's Conference, much and variously talked off, I shall not presume to guess : but thus far I may say, the noble Duke, and the honourable Gentleman who had been twice successively Chancellor of the Exchequer under his Administration, were not reported to have been the Objects of our great Commoner's Designation, or if they had, with all the Justice due to the Characters of both, and without entering into any invidious Comparison of Talents, the advanced Age of the one, not a Member of the House of Commons, and the declining State of Health in the other, who never appeared there as first in the ministerial Line, and was but second at his own Board, leave that Preference with you, which belongs to an applauded Arrangement of our Finances without Doors, and to an able Support of your own Administration

stration within. Whatever the Pretences of others may be, as they have not been tried in this Sphere, they remain subject to an Uncertainty, too hazardous for Experiment, in a Station upon which the Salvation of our Country depends.

The present Contest therefore, between Mr. *Pitt* and you, is not in that Scene where he has demonstrated unrivaled Abilities ; for, Praise be to God, War no longer rages : and the Question, reduced to its proper State, rests upon this single Point ; whether, in a total Change of Situation, his acknowledged Merit in what is past and over, gives him a Preference advantageous to his Country in its present State : a Measure as irrational and dangerous, as its Contrary would have been, had the Seals and the Helm been forcibly snatched from his Hands to confide them in yours, at a Time when the sole Guidance of War required an Experience, which you had not ; and Talents peculiarly adapted

to that Crisis, of which you had given no Proofs.

Such Preferences can only be wished for by a Spirit of Partiality, often springing from Principles that no Party will avow, and which the Pride of Man sometimes conceals even from the Bosom they inspire. But the Fallacy is easily detected by the impartial Observer ; and if one be preferred to an other, for inconclusive Reasons, or, which is still stronger, Reasons that conclude against him, unprejudiced Men will not be at a Loss to assign the real Cause : And, whatever the Pretences to Patriotism may be, such illogical Reasoning marks with the indelible Character of Faction, that Party where it obviously prevails.

Ministers may owe their Support to the same Motives upon which an Opposition to them may be founded : and their Fitness or Unfitness for the Posts they fill, is the only Criterion, by which the contending Sides can or ought to be tryed. This Test
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is infallible; but the Difficulty *lies* in applying it fairly, where all are interested, and every Man measures the same Object with a Standard of his own.

Innumerable are the Passions, which form the various Tempers and Complexions of Men, too many and too opposite to exist at the same Instant in the same Breast: Liberality excludes Sordidness, Pity melts Hatred away, and Love extinguishes Resentment; but any one of these, and of many more, is often too strong for Reason and Justice to contend with. In a Multitude they all constantly exist, and may frequently be found cooperating and assisting in the same Direction, towards the same Purposes: the Avarice of one may be supplied by the overflowing Generosity of another, sneaking Craft soar on the Wings of Spirit, and climbing Ambition mount the long-practised Ladder of humble and undesigned Honesty.

These

There never was a Time, when a greater Variety of Causes concurred in exciting all the different Emotions of which the human Heart is susceptible ; and in binding together the various Tempers and Dispositions of Men, thro' all Conditions, Ranks, and Ages ; nor ever were more Art and Industry employed in producing and preserving this Union, by two Sets of wily Veterans, adverse when in Power, but tho' never joined by Love now agreeing in one common Hatred, the strongest and most lasting Cement in political Disgrace. The Friends of these pointed to a popular Minister in the Meridian of his Glory sunk into Retirement, soon followed by an old Servant of the Crown, illustrious from his Family, Titles and Fortune, and still more recommended by that Fortune impaired in Offices, which were wont to enrich others, and by a Refusal of every pecuniary Assistance offered by his Sovereign at his Departure from his Presence.

Another Great Nobleman offered himself to view, equally distinguished by Family, Title and Estate, amiable in his Manners, and respectable for his Virtues, dismissed from the highest Post about the Person of the Crown, and erased from the numerous List of his Counsellors in a Strain of unusual Severity. These were voluntarily accompanied by many others, some their Equals or near their Equals in Rank, connected in Principle, Friendship and Blood, divested like them of those Ensigns of Favour, which long Prescription had taught themselves and others to consider as hereditary Rights ; while a numerous Train of Dependants, driven from Plenty and Comfort into Penury and Want, composed the Rear of this interesting Spectacle.

Here were Objects formed to affect every Temper, and to inspire every Passion, suited to every State and Condition of the Spectators, bringing what they saw home to their own Bosoms, and interesting Self-love
in

in the Fate of others: and there were Spectators of every State and Condition, who, thus operated upon, joined the Sufferers, adopting their Cause and their Resentments. Admiration, Respect and Pity are kindred Sensations, and blended together beget Indignation, Hatred, and Revenge against the Enemies of their favoured Objects. Nor were there other Circumstances wanting to heighten the Scene.

Of those who succeeded to Power the Chief stood high in the Personal Favour of his Sovereign, which could only be equaled by the Envy and Malice of those, whose Pride suffered under a marked Preference, by them stiled Disgrace. Dissatisfaction was not confined to these; the Instances which History affords of an Abuse of personal Influence over the Minds of our Princes, render the Name of Favourite traditionally ungracious to the Multitude, who are taught from what they have heard or read, to annex indiscriminately, and often unjustly, to that Word the Ideas of a

Spencer or a *Gaveston*. And he who suddenly aspires to a dangerous Preeminence over his Fellow-Subjects, without Time or Opportunities to form Connections, and bind by Benefits the Affections of Men to him tryed and experienced in a gradual Progress to Power, is destitute of such Advocates to plead for and support his Elevation, while the Velocity of his Rise makes the Object more striking, than if mounting by slower Degrees, the Eyes of Men had been insensibly accustomed to see him rise. Obnoxious from these Circumstances the late Minister was born a *Scotchman*, in him an original Sin, not to be expiated by many Virtues, and a Blemish on his Birth not to be cleared by hereditary Titles, nor by his Alliance with some of the best Blood of *England*, which ensured, to a Branch of his Family, Possessions on this side of the *Tweed*, equal to those which enrich the Stems of our most opulent Nobility. But his Preferment offended the Plebian as much as the Patrician : National Pride was hurt ; a *Scot* at the Head of the 'Treasury

was

was not to be endured by an *English* Porter, sweating beneath his Burthen ; and the Cocker reecho'd from his Stall, to his Brethren in Common-Council assembled, No Favorite, no *Scotchman*. Almost every Corporation in *England* caught the Alarm, bleating after those Bell-weatherers of Faction, who in the Heart of the Metropolis dared to insult their Royal Guest, by a Treatment injurious, even to the Rights of Hospitality.

The most abandoned Wretch that ever disgraced private Life, with Talents only known by an Abuse of them, rose from the Obscurity of mean Birth, and a scanty Fortune earned by domestic Villainy, and consumed in low Debauchery, the Champion of Virtue, Liberty, and *England*. A virtuous, but unpopular Minister, soon proved an unequal Match for such an Assailant. But the Triumph of Vice did not end here : He became a Rival even to him in whose Vindication he first drew his Pen ; and the loved, the admired, Commoner sunk second
in

in Popularity to those ruffian Talents, which defended and disgraced his Cause. I have stated these Facts in an Instance not to be paralleled, as the strongest Proofs of the Temper of the Nation, prepared to receive very unfavourable Impression from the most unworthy Hands. If the Colourings of this Picture be thought too glaring and over-charged, let those answer for me who encouraged, vindicated and applauded the Man, whom they after deserted and reviled, when the Arm of Parliamentary Justice was stretched out against him, and he fell an unassisted and unpitied Victim to that abused Authority, the most sacred in civil Society, which he dared to contemn and violate.

The Tories, long accustomed to be treated as Jacobites by the ministerial Party, whom they were wont invariably to oppose, and who had received the like Treatment from their former opposing Friends after they had risen upon them into Power, had, forgetting recent Injuries, ranged themselves under

der the Banners of a Minister, reconciled to them by their loved Epithet of *Patriot*, in Contradistinction to others. In the Opening of a new Reign, under a gracious Declaration from the Throne, they received an Earnest in some Instances of that Proscription being removed, which had since the Accession of this Royal Family branded and distinguished them from the prevailing Party. Some were placed in honourable Stations, suited to their Rank, near the Person of their Sovereign; and if none were intrusted with Departments of Business and Influence, a Consciousness of Inability, from want of Experience, accounted to their own Minds for this Exclusion. They felt the whole of their Obligation; and acknowledged a Part of it as derived from him who was the avowed Channel of Favour, with whom they remained, a few excepted, firmly connected in the Separation which soon after ensued.

The Charge of Jacobitism was now revived by the discontented and seceding Whigs,

Whigs, and by a strange Inversion of Argument, they who were formerly condemned as disaffected, because they opposed, were now marked with the same opprobrious Character because they assisted Government; while their few recusant Brethren of the Cocoa Tree were the only loyal Subjects, who bore the Name of Tory. These concurred with discontented Whigs in lamenting a Change of System, by which old and faithful Servants were dismissed to make room for a new Tribe: nor is this the only Instance of Ideas of hereditary Right transferred from the Crown to certain Families, which, since the Accession of this Royal Family, have from Father to Son exercised all its Functions, and considered their Masters, like the Scepter which they bore, as mere Emblems of Regality, which virtually and in its Effects resided in them.

The Times were however fitted for such Doctrine: Licentiousness in talking, writing and acting were Liberty; while the
 best

best known, the most necessary, and therefore the oftneft practised, Powers of Prerogative, in placing or displacing the Servants of the Crown, were arbitrary, Infringements of that independant Freedom which this Family was chosen to defend; and in those Preludes to still more dangerous Designs, concurring Tories were, by their Principles, the fittest and most ready Instruments. Such was the general Language : and while these Fears and these Jealousies, affected by the Artful, and really existing in the Weak, revived and kindled the expiring Embers of Party, industriously supplied with every combustible Matter, an ill-timed, and at all times an ill concerted Tax upon Cyder was hastily introduced towards the Close of the Session of Parliament, which almost solely affecting five Tory Counties, disoblged many of their Representatives, and totally estranged some from the Support of a Minister, who, loaded with an Odium partly contracted on their Account, felt his Burthen encrease by the additional Weight of their Resentment.

The evil Consequences of this Measure, lasted longer than the Power of its Author, and the succeeding Administration experienced its Effects, even after the Tax had been reduced to a very moderate Composition, and the Rigour of the Mode of Collection relaxed by every Indulgence that you could devise.

When the first Bill for imposing this Tax had passed thro' both Houses of Parliament, the Corporation of the City of *London*, who insolently call themselves the City, and usurping the Name, would assume an Importance not belonging even to that great Metropolis, seized so fair an Opportunity of controlling every Branch of the Legislature ; and petitioned the King to withhold his Royal Assent, by an Exercise of Prerogative never used since these Nations have been blessed with this *Brunswick* Line, and but once since the Revolution redeemed us from those Tyrants, who were fond of substituting Will in Place of Law. The Petitioners went still farther, and with an Ignorance

norance and Inconsistency natural to mean Men, who aspire beyond their Sphere, advised our Monarch, from a tender Concern for Liberty, to venture upon what never was attempted even by the *Stuart* Race; and, by rejecting one part of the Bill only, for such was the Prayer of their Petition, give the Force of Law to a mutilated Act of the Legislature, modelled and abridged by the sole Pleasure of the Crown.

But whatever our Surprise might then have been, we should now cease to wonder at this Instance of absurd Inconsistency in a few ignorant Tradesmen, when we have lately seen a Proposition for interposing a Resolution of the House of Commons between Law and a judicial Determination, the Cause actually depending in those Courts, where alone it is constitutionally cognisable; and to encrease the Wonder, that Proposition was in a full House of Parliament rejected only by a Majority of fourteen Voices; 232 to 218: for such was the Question, upon the Success of which

the *Monument* of *London* was to have blazed as a Signal of Deliverance from a more threatening Conflagration than that which this Fabrick was erected to commemorate*.

Who the real Incendiaries were can surely not be a Doubt; those Secretaries by whose Warrant Mr. *Wilkes* and his Papers had been seized, drawn in the usual Form which had prevailed from the Revolution down to its Date, often produced during that Period in the Courts of Justice, and never once objected to; or those who inflamed the Nation with all the Virulence, Falshood, and Abuse, as if the Liberty of the Subject had been invaded by a new and arbitrary Stretch of Authority. Yet when the Business was brought to a fair Issue, those very Men and their Friends and Associates disclaimed all Personal Accusation;

* The *Monument* was to have been illuminated, and Beer to be given to the Populace, to gladden the Hearts of the enlightened Freemen of *London*.

the Hands that signed the Warrants, the Capital Offenders, if there had been Offence, were not even named in the Question ; nor could they have been named, without involving in any Censure to be passed upon them, those Chiefs of the Opposition, who had before held the same Seals ; one of whom, as he had been longest in Office, was incomparably the most frequent Transgressor ; and the other, formed to exceed in whatever he undertakes, passed those Bounds observed by the least cautious of his Predecessors. One peculiar Circumstance rendered Inaccuracy the less excusable in him, who had, or might have had, the Assistance of that great Magistrate, then the first Law-Servant of the Crown, who in the Seat of Judgment had discovered an Informality, which escaped the Vigilance of all who went before him, soon after he had, in the Capacity of Attorney General, prosecuted to Conviction and Punishment an infamous Offender, whose Papers as well as Person had been seized for publishing a false and seditious Libel.

But

But in truth the Practice, however excusable from long and uniform Usage, was not warranted by Law ; this was equally the Doctrine of both Sides, and that Doctrine was sure of being confirmed by the unanimous Opinion of *Westminster-hall*, in the necessary Course of a Proceeding, which had already obtained the Determination of one Court in its Favour.

The Merit of Condemning this Practice, as far as any had Merit, was common to all ; but the Guilt of stirring up the Nation by unfounded Falshoods, was entirely theirs, who at first devised them as an Engine to excite Compassion towards the Martyr in their Cause, the favorite Reviler of Majesty and Parliamentary Authority. But when the Weight of his Crimes bore him down, and would have dragged them with him, had they adhered to their Promises of inseparable Connection and Support, they tried the Force of a popular Topic upon honest but unwary Minds.

They

They meant to deceive and divide the Friends of Administration. They meant to obtain that Superiority by those Means, which they had vainly attempted by all others, and a Victory *now*, they considered as a compleat Conquest. For this Purpose a Question was devised, to which as a simple Proposition, no Man could refuse his Assent; and the Parliamentary Expedient of putting off a Question upon which it would not be proper for either House singly to decide, had been too often used for other Purposes, where that Impropriety did not exist, to satisfy Men warm in an Instance which seemed to decide whether their own Persons, Papers and Houses were safe from Messengers, wantonly and implicitly executing the Orders of their Superiors. The shortest Suspence seemed too long, during which an Uncertainty remained, whether we were at that Instant Freemen or Slaves. Arguments, which in this Instance did not conclude, for the Provision offered was inadequate to the Evil, had
any

any new Provision been necessary ; and which in their utmost Latitude would conclude against the Checks provided by the Wisdom of our mixed Constitution, to secure the Acts of Legislature from Surprise, Passion, Ignorance, and Error. However, these Arguments were urged with all that Force of Self-Conviction, which seductive Eloquence assumes unconvinced ; and it had its Effect upon some, who by their Example offered a Sanction to others, cool Friends or disguised Enemies to Administration. Beside, the Apprehensions of Impressions made upon their Constituents by a first Glance, which could only be effaced by a Debate they did not hear, and by Deductions of Reason, which require more Knowledge and Attention than the Multitude is able or willing to bestow, hung over the Minds of many, and composed that motley Division, in which a considerable Number of Placemen, and near half the Tories, concurred with opposing Whigs.

But

But the Fate of another Proposition, which soon was offered for doing that constitutionally and effectually by a more comprehensive Law, discovered to all, who would see, the Motives that actuated the Leaders of Opposition. That Motion was thinly attended by their Party, and strenuously opposed by those who did attend ; just as the Resolution would have been had it come from Friends to the Administration ; for it is impossible to suppose they would have preferred improper and ineffectual Means to the more proper and adequate, if the Service of their Country made any considerable Part of their Object. To carry a Question against the Minister was their View, and when that failed, they laid aside, for the Use of some future Day, the Pageantry of painted Terrors, with which, like popish Priests, they would awe those they mean to govern ; and the watchful Patriots, who could not sleep under Apprehension of ruffian Messengers breaking in upon them, have since enjoyed their peaceful Slumbers

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uninterrupted by the Clank of visionary Chains.

When the Earl of *Bute* had quitted that high Post to which you succeeded, he undoubtedly had a superior Claim to the Merit of those Measures, with all who approved them, of which he was considered as the sole Author by others, and as such singled out the destined Victim of National Vengeance, for a ruinous and ignominious Peace. Your Share of Power at that Period neither entitled you to any large Proportion of Praise from one Side, nor rendered you an Object of Hatred to the other: You never was supposed to influence the Councils of that first Minister; and you was known to be little short of an avowed Enemy to Mr. *Fox*; who, in Preference to you, was entrusted by him to take the Lead in the House of Commons: You was free from all the Objections personal to either, and stood only responsible for what had been done since your Accession to Power. You neither turned those out who had been displaced,

placed, nor filled their Posts with those who succeeded to them. As, therefore, you had little or no Share in the Causes of Discontent, you ought to have been safe from the Resentment of Injuries, and so you would have been, had Measures been the Object of Opposition, or Men under any other Description but that which would exclude all alike, who dared to hold what the Junto had an indefeasible Right to enjoy. Had you been what Lord *Bute* was, and you now are, or had he been born like you in the Vale of *Aylesbury*, the Opposition would have been the same; and some other Objections found equally strong, as those drawn from the Place of his Nativity. Could any Doubt remain upon the Truth of this Supposition, the highest Attention to the Conduct of his and now your Enemies, puts it beyond Controversy.

When he first resigned, they supposed or would have others suppose, that his Influence remained in its full Force, manifested in all that was done while the di-

recting Agent remained concealed. With what Truth this was urged, and, if at all true, in what degree, I shall not venture to determine. But however that may have been, when his Retirement into the Country and the Prudence of his Conduct there, had given unequivocal Proofs of at least an altered Purpose ; when the present Administration evidently stood upon a Self-supported Basis, then Opposition changed its Language : The once arbitrary Minister was said to be driven into Exile by his more despotic and unrelenting Successors, and the Sweets of private Friendship denied to a great King by the Insolence of an imperious Divan, presuming to give Law to their Sovereign, in the most insolent Manner. Even in the Privacies of his Friendship, they have made their Benefactor eat his Bread in Famine, and this under the specious Colour of delivering Majesty from a pretended Intention of the same kind of Tyranny in others. Such are the bitter Lamentations, and such the tender Feelings for our amiable Monarch and his constant Friend,

Friend, in a Letter addressed by one of the dutiful, modest, consistent, *Cotterie* in *Albemarle-street*, to the *Cocoa-tree* in *Pallmall*.

Nay, if Fame speaks Truth, and the Report has not been contradicted, the once detested and detestable *Scot*, who was to have been dragged from behind the Throne to exemplary and condign Punishment, has been very lately courted to exert that Influence, which he was supposed to have concealed for the surer Destruction of *England*, and to return into Power, glorious and exalted, in friendly Union with the Patriot-Minister, upon the Shoulders of *English* Patriots. Such was the first Measure inspired by Hope, dawning upon Opposition thro' a slender Majority of fourteen, and such the Means devised to render Success infallible. But the extraordinary Ambassador, deputed to the banished Statesman for this Purpose, had the Misfortune to stumble at his Threshold, ominous Prefage! and was refused an Audience.

Imme-

Immediately previous to that noble Lord's Retirement, it is very true that the Hero of Opposition, by whom, and many others, *English Liberty* is said to swear, in the Letter from *Albemarle-street*, as the *Greeks* did, *per cæsos in Marathone, et Salamine, Propugnatores Reipublicæ*, far from wishing him exiled, had a private Meeting with him; and in a subsequent Conference with a greater Personage, is supposed not to have been unfriendly to him in the Terms dictated to his R——l Master; Terms, whatever they were, spurned by indignant Majesty; and such as the now befriended Earl, in Duty and Affection to his Sovereign, thought less eligible than a voluntary Banishment from his Presence.

These are Facts, which afford so broad a Cement upon what is less precisely known of that dark Transaction, that it requires something more to confute it than a supercilious Silence, scorning to give itself even the Trouble of contradicting a preposterous
Heap

Heap of absurd Falshoods. Vide Letter
from *Albemarle-street*.

There are Actions easier to be denied than justified ; and a contemptuous Silence requires less Hardiness of Front than an audacious Enterprize. There are Dispositions which prompt to both. But is it then false; that the Person confidently employed in the first Steps of this Negotiation, was the lowest Tool of a late Minister, himself held unworthy by our great Commoner, of any Participation of Power under his Administration? Is it not true that this base Instrument had rendered himself still more infamous, by a recent Treachery against that Master, who raised him from native Beggary to incredible Opulence ! and if all this be true, can any thing be supposed more preposterous than the Choice of such a Vehicle, to convey the pure Breathings of Patriotic Spirit to the Ears of Royalty, misguided and deluded by bad Men? Is there after this, any thing preposterous that may not be credited of the same Man?

Is

Is the Supposition absurd, that he should listen to a Reconciliation to the Earl of *Bute*, who reviled Sir *Robert Walpole* living, and after his Death courted the Favour of his Friends by offering Incense to his Memory; who despised Mr. *Pelham*, and served under him; who in Turns extolled and depressed his Brother by Flattery and Abuse, as either served his Purpose; who, when in Opposition, treated those Ministers he opposed as Betrayers of their Country; and when their Associate in Administration, as Fools unable to serve it, snatching the whole Guidance from their Hands, and borrowing (in his own Phrase) their Majority, to vote as he directed, mixed with honest, independant Country-Gentlemen, who, once indeed (to use again his own Words) paved the Streets of *Oxford* with Jacobites. Yet those very Ministers are the Chiefs whose Fall he now laments, buried in the Ruins of their Country; while as many of that Majority as adhere to them, are now cannonized as heroic Sufferers, Victims to inanimate Tory-Idols,

Idols, once more converted by the Charms of his Magic, into their primitive Substance.

Or is it absurd to believe (what by the bye Nineteen in Twenty do believe) that he, who took Advantage of the Confusion of his Country, to force himself upon his King, in the late Reign, should repeat the Experiment in this, and avail himself of infatuated Prejudices and public Clamour, to prescribe Terms to our Sovereign, which would have been injurious to the Honour of a private Man. But a Disavowal of Measures, solemnly approved, and Ter-giverfation from Opinions, publickly declared, are Measures of patriot Opposition, which, sanctified by the frequent Example of its Chief, became a Model, worthy to be presented to the Lord of Nations, for his Adoption.

These Suppositions compose that Heap, of which the Letter-writer complains; and to prove them false, surpasses the Skill of a

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futile,

futile, obscure, analitic Sophister ; who from the Lees of Falshood would be thought to extract the Spirit of Truth, with something which stirs the fermenting Quality of Liberty. P. 5. and whose heatless Laboratory has little of Fire, except the Smoke that furrounds it. If this Pedlar in harmless Poisons, cannot plead the Excuse of Poverty, he as far exceeds *Romeo's* Apothecary in Guilt, as he falls short of him in Arts of Mischief. P. 33.

Such is that Writer, the Champion of the *Cotterie*, who in the most perplexed, inconsistent, and unintelligible Rhapsody of false Metaphor, unmeaning Subtlety, and embarrassed Stile, dares to lay a *heavy* Charge, at least in one Sense of the Word, upon the fullest, the clearest and most irrefragable Argument, that could engage the Attention of an admiring Audience ; treated by him, as a long laborious and fallacious Declamation. But Abuse is the only Praise such a Hand can bestow, which an honest Man would not be ashamed of receiving. You,
Sir,

Sir, have an ample Share of it; and it is just you should in a Performance, which stigmatizes all who worthily serve the Crown, and cooperate with them in the Service of their Country, as rotten Tories combined with rotten Whigs: Men of flagitious Characters, loose Principles, abandoned in their Morals, desperate in Fortune, &c. &c. &c. without one single Exception; such are the wretched Gleanings of *Wilkes's* and *Churchill's* Harvest.

The Fable of *Proteus*, often applied to Duplicity and Deceit, seems peculiarly emblematical of Faction; by turns wild and untameable as the brindled and spotted Sons of Liberty, that shake the Forest with their Roar; now gliding thro' flowery Meads in copious Streams of persuasive Eloquence; anon a Flame purged from all earthly Dross into pure Element. But however undistinguishable at first from the Forms it assumes, Firmness and Perseverance will reduce it to its genuine State, and discover the Imposture. This, Sir, you have done with *Abi*

lities which all applaud, and to which even your disappointed Enemies cannot refuse their Testimony. Those Abilities were not before known in their full Extant. You had neither Opportunities, nor a Scene opened to you, in which you could display them. Planted in the Shade you pined beneath the Umbrage of an older and unfoci-able Companion : The Laurel that beggars the Soil on which it grows, stints every Plant within the Reach of its Influence. Transplanted from thence, your Growth has been amazing; and your Roots are spread wide and deep in the Bosom of your Country. Accustomed to see one Man superior in the Cabinet, and unrivalled in the Senate, we now see another incomparably his Superior in that Knowledge, to which now the Preference in both is due. Your Integrity, like his, is free from any venal Stain; and you have both given equal Proofs of clear Hands and scrupulous Consciences in the Administration of two great moneyed Departments.

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The Means by which Mr. P—— had often forced himself into the Closet and Councils of his King, in the late Reign, could be reconciled to Lovers of Monarchy, only by the Services which he rendered to his Country in that extorted Confidence: And few can wish for a Repetition of those Means now, with many aggravating Circumstances, but from a Conviction of the same Necessity, which clearly does not exist.

In you, Sir, we have a Minister not obtruded upon his Master, confessedly equal to the high Post in which you are placed by his free Choice; and while your Country has a better Chance of being served by your Abilities, that Service is not earned at the Expence of a Strain upon regal Authority, which wounds our Constitution in a vital and essential Part.

The Sufferings of Individuals, however affecting, are a private Concern; Prejudice
dice

dice alone can make it public : But Violence offered to Majesty interests the whole. And surely a young King under that Circumstance, endowed with every Virtue that commands Veneration, and with every Quality that wins Love ; gentle in his Dispositions, munificent in his Nature, loving his native Country, and demonstrating that natural Affection, by more and greater Sacrifices of private Interest in three Years, than recommend the longest Reigns of his Royal Predecessors ; offers an Object as worthy of inspiring the tenderest Emotions, as they can pretend to be, whose Picture I have already endeavoured to draw, even in the strongest Colours of partial Friendship. But should such a Prince be traduced, reviled, and insulted by unprovoked and ungrateful Men ; should their ungenerous, unmanly, and brutal Rage, violate every Regard of Decency and Respect due to the Sex and Rank of those nearest and dearest to him ; indignant Resentment should take place of every other Passion, and the Abettors of such Infamy share in the

the general Execration of its ignominious Authors. Compassion towards such Men would be criminal Weakness. The Merits of the longest Life, consumed in the most disinterested Service, would be all cancelled by such Baseness, and whatever there might have been of Rigour in that Treatment of which they before complained, it would then have been no more than an Anticipation of Punishment, now justly due to their Crimes.

That there are such Men is as certain as that there are others, fatally linked with them in the Interests of Hope or Revenge, who abhor their Conduct: the good and the great Earl of *Hardwicke* died lamenting those Excesses in his Friends, which he in vain endeavoured to stem by his Counsels; and in the Spirit of Wisdom, altho' I hope not of Prophecy, foretold the ruinous Effects of inebriating Popularity, which threatened the Monarchy he loved, and the Family he had long and faithfully served. The Bitterness of these Reflections was, however,

however, somewhat soothed in his last Hours, by the Part which his Son bore, in Opposition to that monstrous Doctrine, that Parliamentary Privilege should be held sacred in the Person of him, whose Abuse of Parliament tended to prove, there was no Reverence due to that venal and polluted Body, for so it was represented by him, from which alone his Pretence to Privilege could be derived. The Danger and Absurdity of such Tenets, rendered more dangerous by a judicial Determination, alarmed the Son of our expiring Patriot, who, upon this Occasion, broke loose from those Connections, which held in Shackles the Minds of many others; and he spoke with a Strength of Argument, a Compass of Knowledge, and a Clearness and Energy of Expression, which seemed the Emanations of his Father's Soul.

Many there are, who from various Motives and Incidents had contracted Connections, which insensibly drew them into lengths much farther than they ever proposed

posed to go, or ever thought would become necessary.

Many, in the Sallies of Mirth, and the Warmth of Wine at those festal Boards, where the formidable *Cotterie* was first planned and modelled, had entered into hasty Engagements, which cooler Thought and better informed Reflection soon condemned. In those Scenes, calculated by the Designing to captivate the Unwary, where nothing serious seems to be admitted, Declarations are made, Opinions are delivered, Libations are poured out to the God of the Feast ; and the wild Effusions of Jollity are afterwards considered as solemn Vows plighted at the Foot of an Altar.

Such are the Arts by which many have been gained. Spirited Youth loves Opposition ; for Opposition has the Air of Liberty. It is Exercise to the Mind, recommended by its Violence ; the Vehemence of the Chace, well adapted to the Eagerness of the Pursuers, who delight in con-

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tending with Difficulties, and over-leaping Bounds. Vanity (and Youth is ever vain) had the Applause for which it panted. Every Instance of Zeal was sure of this Reward, and the Hollowers and Feasters of the Party had their Share of that Praise, which was profusely poured upon those who displayed their Talents in florid Oratory. Another and more substantial Reward was in view, and seemed at one time within their Reach, in a Division upon a Question well attended and long and warmly debated. Then it was that lively Imagination, sanguine Hope, and Presumptuous Ambition sprung into the Lobby, sure of Success, with a Vehemence and Impetuosity of Gesture and of **Voice**, ill fitted to the Place; and their tumultuous Numbers were nearly equal to their Expectations of Victory; for the Question was carried against them by ten only.

Such was the State of Opposition, **when** you opened a Scene, exciting other **Pas-**sions, and demanding other Cares. You
 exposed

exposed, in Facts that could not be falsified, and in Figures that cannot lye; the Ruin impending over a Nation, dispeopled by its Victories, and exhausted by its Conquests. The triumphant Author of this Calamity was pointed out, without being named, by the Excesses which marked the Resplendent Æra of his Administration. His Friends were silent, for the Charge was unanswerable; or if it could be answered, their Abilities were not Abilities of Business. A Fit of Illness saved him from the mortifying Necessity of being one of that dumb Audience, or of being disgraced in an unequal Combat between Assertion and Facts, Painting and Reality, Declamation and Argument.

The Lovers of their Country shudered at her Situation; the Interested feared for themselves; the Thoughtless reflected and were convinced. These looked up to you for their Deliverance, while petulant Opposition hung her Head and departed. Thus in a few Hours of one Day, the Industry

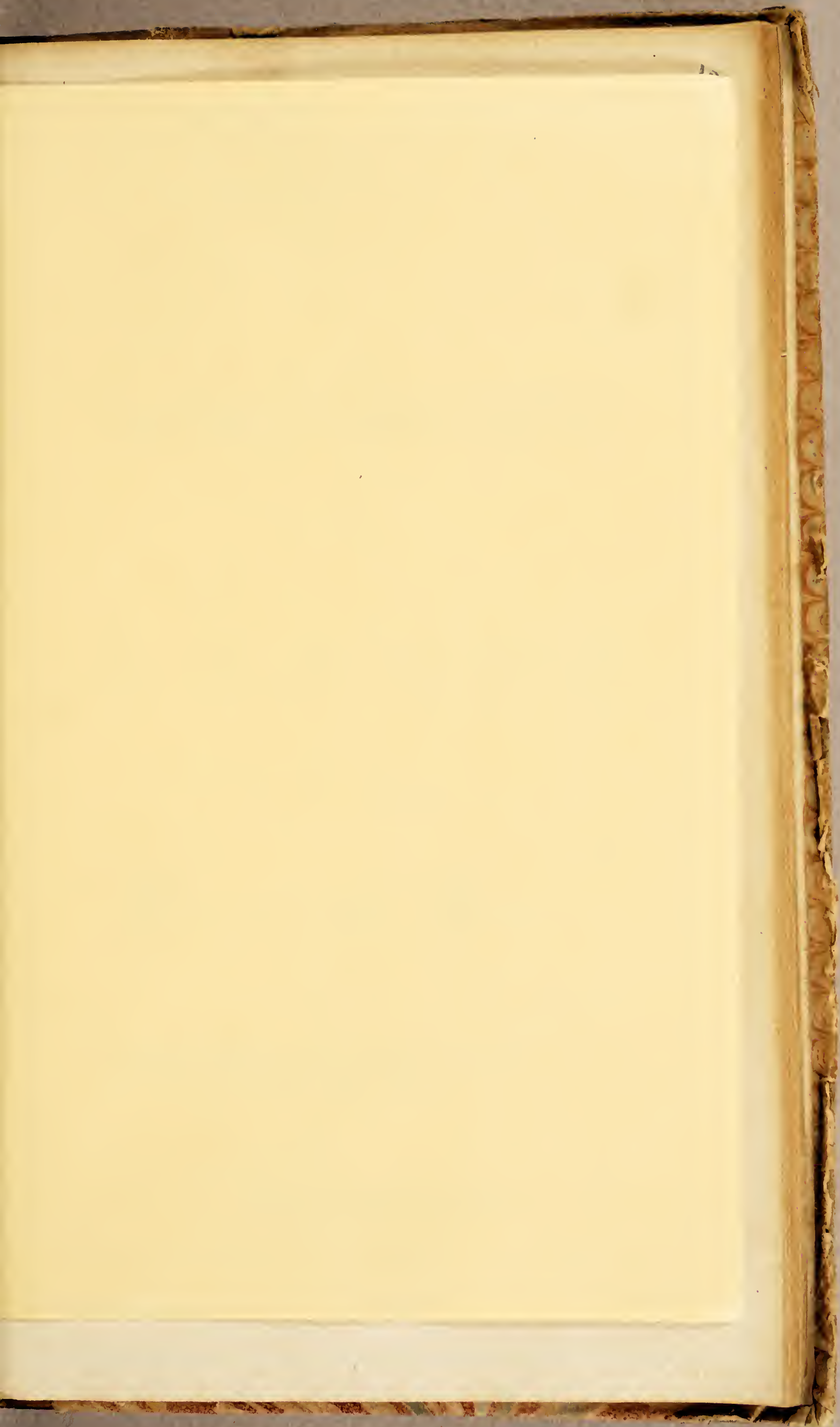
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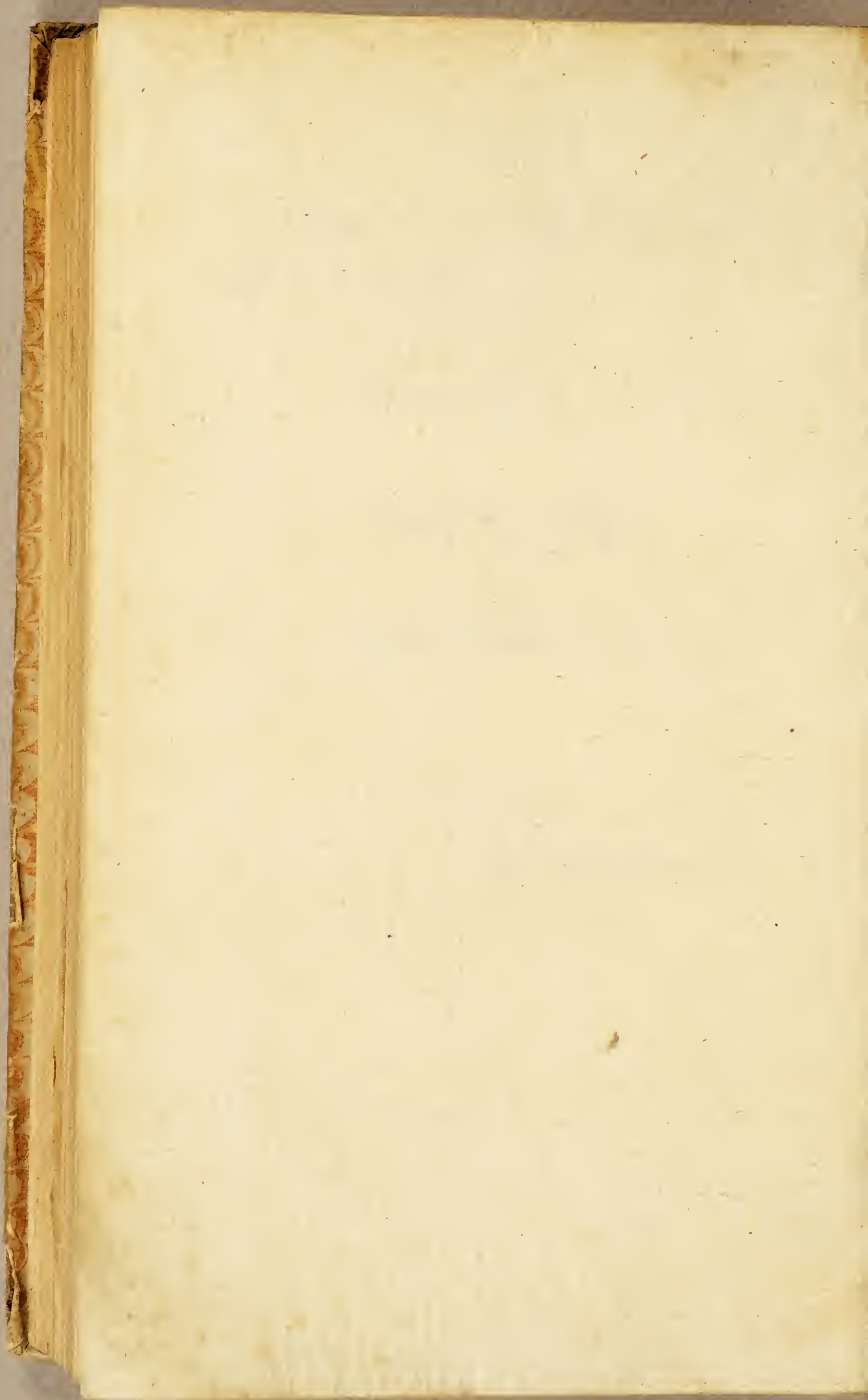
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dustry of many Months was defeated, a dead
Calm immediately succeeded to the Turbu-
lence of an agitated Multitude ; and you,
who tottered to your Fall, now stand firm
and immoveable in the Opinion of your
Friends, and the Conviction of many re-
conciled Adversaries.

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